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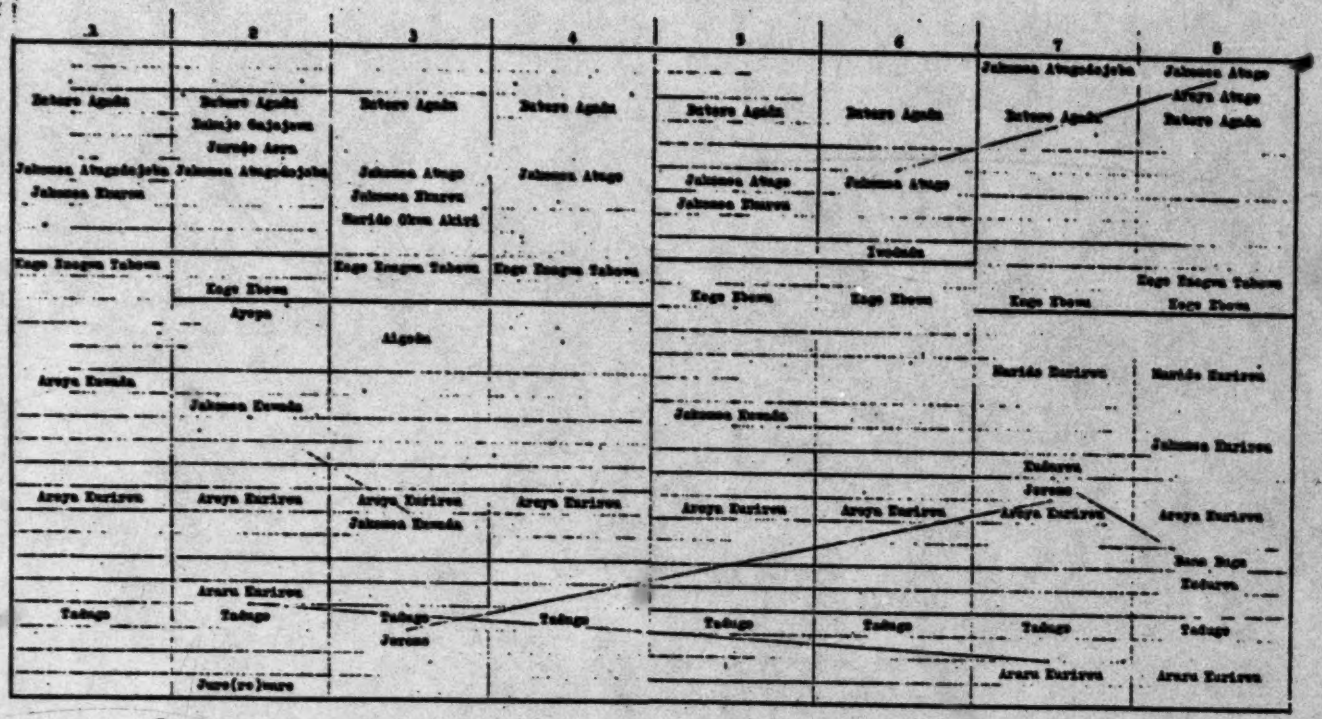
Table IX



4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
[622] the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
[554] connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
[611] eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
[613] the man who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
[539] songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
[533] rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
[788]
[552] Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
[121] missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

553 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB)
60% should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

613 Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs
*601 to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who
606 marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law" (paragɔ—1st person plural inclusive.)

*601 This rule though strange, is yet another variant of general equivalence of a mother and her child which was expressed in different ways in the Crow rule (which equated mother's brother with brother), in female parallel collateral skewing rule (which equated mother's sister with sister), and it will be apparent again in the vocative system (where one's mother's parents are equated with one's own parents).

*601 Here also I would like to make an exception and anti-
607 page the social meaning of the present equivalence rule. By
835 placing brother's wife in the category of irago, the Bororo removed her from the category of sexual partners to which she previously belonged (as imarugo or itonaregedu), and so through the terminology, they express the ideal and the necessity of solidarity among brothers.

*601 With this, the analysis of the Bororo referential system is concluded. All the kin types have been accounted for and reduced to their focal kin types. The boundaries of the sys-
*601 tem coincide closely with the list on pages 11-18. Occa-
609 sionally, if convenient, some Bororo may restrict or extend

63

Extragenealogical Extensions of Kinship Terms

*601 613 On the most basic level of contrast, relatives from the same lineage, e.g., mother and siblings, are designated as "iwobe." The other kinsmen are not covered by any common term. One of my informants explained it to me in this way: "my mother is iwobe, my 'older brother' is iwobe, my 'older sister' is iwobe; all my 'younger siblings' are iwobe, but my 'father' is my 'father,' my 'grandfather' is my 'grandfather,' etc. Only my 'older brother' who gave me the name is the 'grandfather' who is my iwobe."

When contrasted on a higher level, all the lineages of a subclan can be considered iwobe in contrast to another subclan. For example, a man of the subclan Ivagududoge Choreu, the "Black Ivagududoge," will consider only the people who are Ivagududoge Choreu as iwobe, while he will consider as imedage, "companions," or "people like myself," those belonging to the other subclan Ivagududoge Kujagureu, the "Red Ivagududoge." But when the contrast is made between two different clans (rather than subclans), the same man would, for example, recognize as iwobe all the Ivagududoge, "Black" and "Red" alike, in opposition to the clan of Aroroe.

*601 614

*601 616 The merging can be carried further including into iwobe the people of one's own moiety in opposition to those of the other moiety. The latter will be called cheyorubodarege, or cheyadumage (first person plural exclusive). The meaning of

*601 613 iyorubodare (fem. iyorubodaredu), on the basic level of contrast, is approximately "a person from the lineage with which

*601 my lineage is traditionally bound in reciprocal exchange of
● 613 spouses and ceremonial duties." I will translate yorubodare as "allié," and the relationship between yorubodare as "alliance." Members of the opposite sex of an allied lineage, e.g., potential or actual spouses, are also alternatively designated as ikoge ("my husbands") and ivire ("my wives"). Even if a person does not marry into an allied lineage he will continue to call its members by these terms. Also, one's "initiator" ideally should be chosen from such an allied lineage, but he will still be designated as yorubodare even if he was chosen from some other nonallied lineage. The definition of yadu, of which yadumage is the plural, is more
*601 controversial. When somebody dies his relatives from the
613 same lineage call the person chosen to represent the dead,
616 yadu. But, when speaking of yadumage as a group, the Bororo
768 have discordant opinions whether or not this term should be applied to: (a) all the people from the other moiety, part of whom are more specifically considered yorubodarege; (b) the members of the lineages which are not yorubodarege (in this case the moiety is conceived as being divided into yorubodarege and yadumage); (c) some specific lineages with which one's own lineage stands in a relationship of traditional exchange of representatives of the dead;[1] or (d) actual representatives of the dead, who preferentially should be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages.

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[1] this is a theoretical supposition, since no Bororo can give any concrete example of this kind.

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider
the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[594] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After
marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal
extended family, which is the most important residential and
• [613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a
member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by
virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular
names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing
of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may
be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and
others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a
female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is
emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent;
where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo
type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equiv-
alence rule, which were required to account for the kinship
system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fra-
ternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of
her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of
her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers"
are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and
their wives.

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 585 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private affairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the continuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaffirmed. 553 881 Naming and initiation are socially important rites of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance, one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second, special relationships are established with one's father's matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions [128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves to these two.

553 [613] According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver and namereceiver has been mentioned before. 553 562 The ceremony for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the ceremony is much simpler.

his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give him a name. So the child receives his name from some other man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the child, the majority of the names given should be taken from the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will, as usual, be called iyedaga, but the child will not usually have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case, members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically, Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

582 among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a person might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's
613 881 yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen [827] from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

881 [585] While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full anal- [114] ysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, [178] pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned [562] it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member 614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, 616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had 621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the 613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

613 lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the [796] older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

613 553 Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hierarchically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari. 613 553 173 If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

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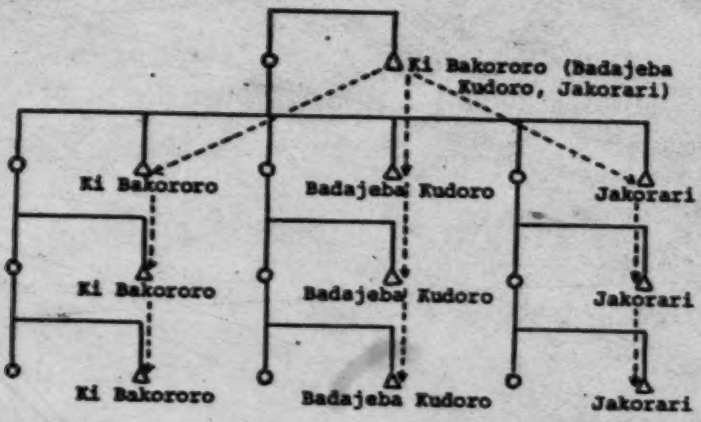
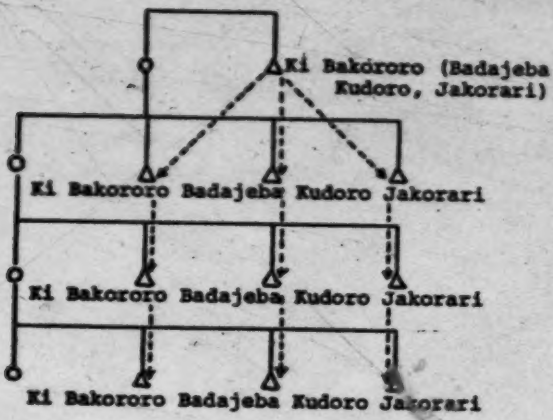
Table VIII




Ki Bakororo (Badajeba
Kudoro, Jakorari)
Ki Bakororo Badajeba Kudoro Jakorari
Ki Bakororo Badajeba Kudoro Jakorari
Ki Bakororo Badajeba Kudoro Jakorari

The broken lines represent name-giving relationships and the arrows indicate the direction from name-giver to name-receiver

613 553 173 It is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.

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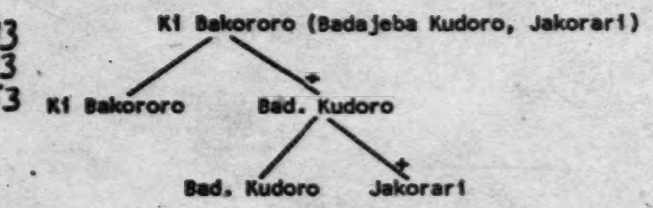

Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (ere mitotuje, "they are just one"; e kare tuginoi, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

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593 like to stress that they are not really the same person:
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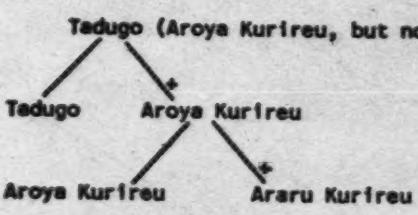
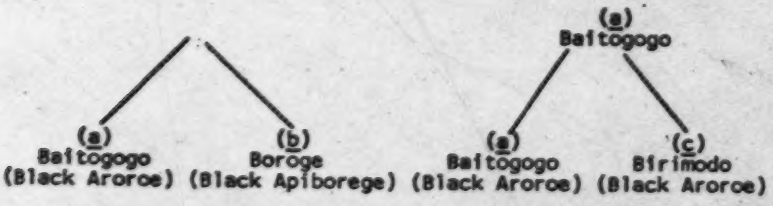


613 The Bororo also express the relation between two lin-
829 eages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother—younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:



Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
616 the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation--employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense--gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
773 quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
181 ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

personal names, but some personal names may have never been used as lineage names; and, finally, new names also can be made up by combining elements already existing. For example, marido is the buriti palm. It is also a big wheel used in the ceremony of the same name, and is made of cut pieces of an aquatic plant. It belongs to the clan Ivagududoge. The Bororo say: "Marido is the grandfather, the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Marido is their name, they sing about it in their clan songs and in the opening songs of their ceremonies." (Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare, eparuyare oino maridoche.) Now, there are a great number of names which are made by adding some specification to the word marido:

1. Marido Aya
2. " Akadu
3. " Akiri
4. " Atugo
5. " Bororo
6. " Ekureu
7. " Jiwu
8. " Kaworu
9. " Kujaka
10. " Kurireu
11. " Mugu
12. " Okwa akiri
13. " Okwoda

551 14. Marido Paradu
613 15. " Ukiga

Of these fifteen personal names, eight (1,2,3,4,7,10, 12,13) have been recorded on several occasions as lineage names. Some of them (8,9,10) belong only to the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge (Older Brothers); others (2,4,5,6,7, 11,12,14,15) belong only to the subclan of the Red Ivagududoge (Younger Brothers); and alternative classification was recorded for 1,3, and 13.

614 Another item belonging to the clan Ivagududoge is the
551 spirit Jakomea. Twenty-two different specifications have been recorded for the name Jakomea. Nine of them were the same as those used for Marido: akadu, akiri, atugo, ekureu, jiwu, kaworu, kurireu, mugu, okwoda. We see that the Bororo can form a large number of names by adding various specifications to the name of an item which belongs to one clan. Some of these specifications are always connected with the more important subclan (Black, Older Brothers): kurireu, choreu, kaworu, are. Others are connected with the less important subclan (Red, Younger Brothers): ekureu, enawu, kuguri, oro, kujaqureu, akadu. Still others, akiri, atugo, okwoda, may be used by either of the subclans, or, on some occasions, by only one of them. Which subclan will use the names cannot be predicted because some items could have been seen first by the Blacks, others by the Reds.

As we have seen, most of the names are formed in this way: Jakomea Akadu, Jakomea Akiri, Jakomea Atugo, etc., and Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc.

613 Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc. But there are
551 other names more specifically connected with particular lineages. For example, Tadugo, the name of one of the lineages of the Black Ivagududoge, cannot be provided with specifications and cannot be given to members of another lineage. Another name reserved to the members of the Tadugo lineage is Tore Ebowu, "the one who went with his sons" (in the name is an allusion to a very important Bororo myth). Other important lineages have long lists of exclusive names. For example, Mamuyawuge Echeba, a lineage of the clan Badajebage Chobugiwuge, is the owner of the following names: Bakugu Kuri, Echera Baru, Eigawa Are, Eigawa Enawureu, Ekoe Choreu, Ekoe Ekudu, Enogureu, Ka Iwara, Mamori Ekureu, Mamori Kurireu, Mamori Ore, Okoge Paiwareu, Paiwareu, Pariko Ekureu, Turugudu Pijiwu, and perhaps many others. Some names are exclusive to a particular lineage only when formed with a particular specification. For example, the name Aroya Kurireu is exclusive to one lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge, while the names Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo, and Aroya Ekureu can belong to a member of a lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge or to a member of the subclan Red Ivagududoge.

613 The list actually recorded for the clan Ivagududoge in-
614 cludes about 250 names. Adding up all the names reported by other authors (Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 441-446; Cruz, 1939: 1941; Horta Barbosa in Rondon, 1948: 8-10) and excluding all repetitions results in a total of 191 names. To this number should be added 60

613 more names which I recorded. The number of actual lineages
614 is much smaller. Horta Barbosa reports 37 lineages, while three of my informants for the same clan of Ivagududoge have specified 77, 32, and 24 lineages respectively.

613 However, the number of lineages considered important (e.g., lineages which are essential to the continuity of ceremonial life) by any one of my informants is much smaller. In Table IX are reported the names of the Ivagududoge lineages as I recorded them on eight different occasions from seven different informants. Columns 3 and 4 were given by the same man on two different occasions. Column 3 was supplied upon request. The names listed in column 4 were mentioned as part of a myth in which the lineages of the clan Ivagududoge are reestablished after a big flood which left only one Bororo alive. The places assigned to the two lineages and their similar forms show that the Bororo consider Jakomea Atugo and Jakomea Atugodojeba as one lineage, or at least as two lineages so close to each other that it is not necessary to mention both of them at the same time. The same thing happens with Koge Ebowu and Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The table shows that each person mentioned between five and twelve lineages as the important ones. In all, twenty-four lineages were mentioned, but only five of them were reported by every person. There are very few differences in the order of placement of these five important lineages. The two informants (No. 7 and 8) who put Jakomea Atugo before Butore Agadu were brothers, and since both of them included in the

[Text Continued On Page 120]

[613] list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most im- [124] portant Bororo lineages. It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] [622] The order given to the lineages around the village circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[1] [115] [128] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk.

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Table X

Lineage:	Subclan:	Clan:	Moiety:
1. Area	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
2. Bakoroknãu			
3. Ocha Kudureu	Echerae		
4. Badajeba Kudoro	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Kiye	
5. Ki Bakororo			
6. Jakorari			
7. Kuruguywari Pijiwu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge		
8. Inokuri	Chebegiwuge	Bokodori Echerae	
9. Kaigu	Chobugiwuge		
10. Kamuyaeuge Echeba	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
11. Bokwarebo			
12. Akarwyo Bokodori			
13. Jerigi Otojiwu	O-Boro Echerae		
14. Aturua	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Paiwoe	Tugarege
15. Baiporo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
16. Apuye Echeba	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Apiborege	
17. Kuruguyua			
18. Boroge	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
19. Baitogoço	Chobugiwuge, Choreuge	Araroe	
20. Birimodo			
21. Butoro Agadu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Ivagududoge	
22. Jakomaa Atugodojeba			
23. Koge Enogwa Tabovu			
24. Aroya Kurireu	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
25. Tadugo			
26. Mano Kurireu	Chebegiwuge, Kujagureuge	Araroe	

613 made a complete circle. I did not find that one direction was preferred over the other. But whatever their starting point was, and whichever direction they took, they would complete the circle rather than make two opposite semicircles.

Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu may be considered separated lineages of closely related brothers. But, while most of the informants in the similar case of Ki Bakororo, Jakorari, and Badajeba Kudoro would enumerate all three of them, the informants in the case of Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu would say only one of the names, the one they preferred. And if asked about the other two names, they would say that those too are the same lineage as the first one. Following this usage, I put all of those names under one lineage.

Clan and Moiety

000 We now approach one of the most interesting and most discussed aspects of Bororo social organization, that is, the village plan and the division into moieties, clans, and sub-
616 clans. Two exogamous moieties are divided by an east-west axis. On the northern side are the Tugarege, on the southern the Echerae. Because of the lay of the land which the Bororo inhabit, east is at the same time upstream, and west
614 is downstream. In each moiety there are four clans arranged in a circle. As can be seen from the list on page 121, I did not find each clan to be divided into three subclans: upper, middle, and lower, as has been reported by others (Albisetti & Venturelli, 1962: 437; Crocker, 1969: 45). In my diagram

4: Levak E-5 (1965-1967) 1973 SP8 Bororo SP8
Pobojari

Table XI

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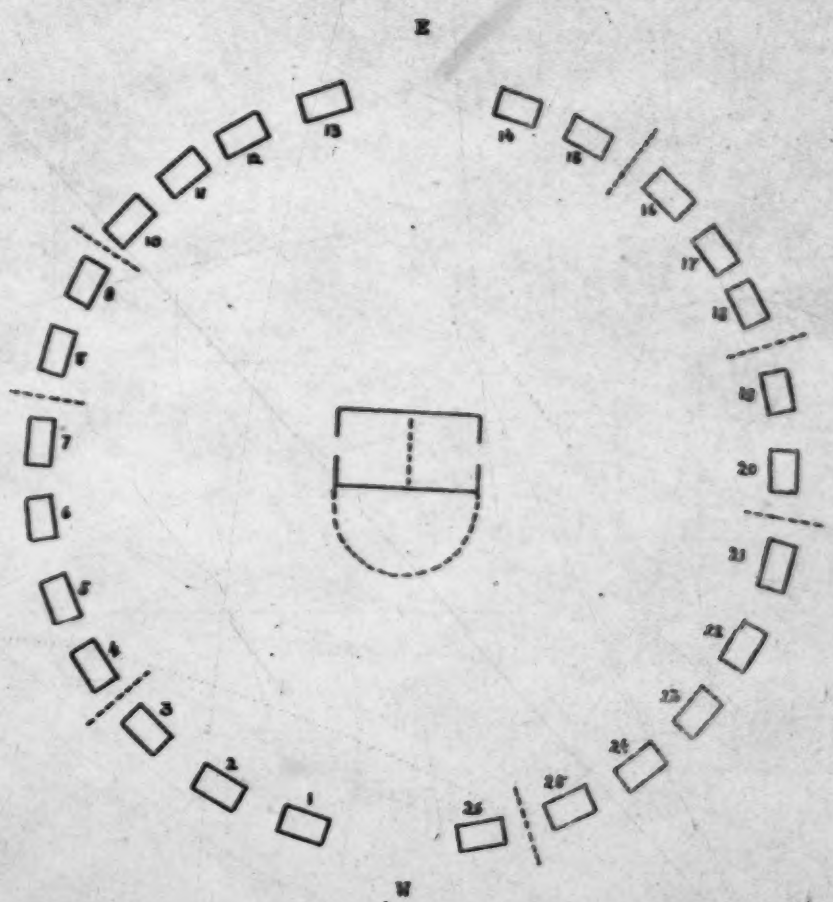

614 lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage,
823 which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one.
829 The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

613 The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied
614 similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu
613 within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned--and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important--they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[1] A few informants would object to this statement. They [775] say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

613 There is still another context in which the Bororo use
571 the term boyadadawu, and in this case the term is used interchangeably with akuge. Akuge is another Bororo word which is difficult to render in English. The closest translation would be the Portuguese "criaçao dêles," their domestic animals, their pets, their foster children. In the present context an appropriate translation would be "their clients." The designation boyadadawu may be applied when a lineage within a clan is of so little importance that the Bororo are reluctant to call it either Black or Red. In this instance the term boyadadawu does not indicate the spatial position of the lineage between the two subclans, but rather it indicates that the lineage is attached to other lineages which can legitimately be considered Black or Red. An exception, however, is the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu, which was designated by one informant as boyadadawu. This lineage can be considered "in the middle" in two ways. It is in the middle between the Black and the Red Ivagududoge, and at the same time it is considered to be geographically the middle of the Tugarege moiety. A comparable lineage in the Echerae moiety is supposed to be a lineage situated between the two subclans of the Bokodori Echerae clan, but the informants do not agree on its name.

614 I will now discuss some clans that present certain pe-
613 culiarities in their subdivision.

The clan Bokodori Echerae is not divided into Blacks and Reds. The Bororo avoid making this division when talking

614 about this clan. In order to understand why, I will first
613 give one of the more complete listings of the lineages within the clan:

Kaigu	
Magurereu	
Arigao Kocha	
Kiogo Bicigedo	
Porireu	Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge
Imorio	
Bokodori Akiri	
Bokodori Baru	
Barogo Bororo	
Barame	
Chibae Edugo	
Koge Edugo	
Koge Ekureu	Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge
Kolwo Kuri	
Echerae Etuviye	
Inokuri	

Inokuri, the last in the list, is considered to be closely related to Kaigu, Magurereu, and Arigao Kocha, the first three of the list. In relation to them, he is their "younger brother while in relation to the other lineages within his own subclan, he is considered their "older brother" and included together with Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu among the "Older Brothers" (Etumanamage) or the
614 "Big" (Kurireuge). On the other hand, the division of Blacks
613 and Reds is based mainly on the presumed colors of the an-
822 cestors of each subclan and on the color of feathers and paint used for their ornaments in ceremonies. Inokuri and all his akuge ("clients"), Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge, use red feathers and red paint, while the Bokodori Echerae

614 Chobugiwuge use black feathers and black paint.[1] However,
613 it would be quite improper to call Inokuri Red because, as
822 we have already seen, the Reds are identified with Younger Brothers and Small People, and Inokuri is neither of them.
614 Thus, the Bororo evade the problem by applying to the
613 Bokodori Echerae only the topographical designation, and they talk only about upstream and downstream subclans. One of my informants did use the color division, but, when asked for clarification, he said: "The Bororo do not say in this way, but I do" (Boe ego kare ino, mare imire inagore).

Many variations exist in the denominations of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan. These variations are not arbitrary; they occur as alternative designations in different contexts (see Table XII).

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[1] It will be shown later that the color division is relative. When black and red are opposed, black is the color of the older brother and red that of the younger. When red and yellow are in opposition, red is the color of older brother, and yellow that of the younger.

Table XII

	Set A	Set B	Set C	Set D
Clan "Badajebage Chobugiwuge" or "Bakoro Echerae"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae
Subclan II	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae Enogujeba Echerae
Clan "Badajebage Chebegiwuge"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge	Echerae	Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Subclan II	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set A

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614

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Akaruyo Bokodori (Badajeba) →	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge
Bakorokudu (Badajeba) →	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	

The lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and Bakorokudu are considered the badajebage ("formal chiefs") of a Bororo village. Their title, badajeba, is extended to their subclans and to their clans. The division in upstream (chobugi) and downstream (chebegi) distinguishes these subclans and clans from each other. The two remaining subclans have their names derived from their common ancestors o (a variety of heron) and boro (a variety of snail)/ they too are divided into upstream and downstream.

Set B

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)	O-Boro Echerae Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
	Echerae Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set B is the most frequently used in informal references to these two clans and their subclans. In this instance the clans keep the names which designate them as the clans of the "formal chiefs." One of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan, the one to which Akaruyo Bokodori belongs, is called Bakoro Echerae, an alternative name for the Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The Bakorokudu lineage does not have any alternative name, so its subclan continues to be called Badajebage. However, its specification chebegiwuge (downstream) is dropped because it is not needed to distinguish this subclan from its upstream counterpart, which has now a different name. The subclans O-Boro Echerae are distinguished by calling the one upstream by its full name, and the one downstream just Echerae.[1]

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[1] Whether the term Echerae in a particular case designates the whole moiety or just the subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan becomes clear only from the context in which the term is used. It must be stressed that the Bororo do not regard the Echerae subclan as being the Echerae par excellence.

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614 Set B is the only one in which there are no polysemic designations. Every term is different. For this reason the Bororo prefer to use terms from this set whenever referring to a particular clan or subclan in isolation.

Set C

Subclans	Clans
Badajebage Chobugiwuge Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge or Bakoro Echerae
Echerae Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

In Set C the name Badajebage Chobugiwuge is implicitly applied to the upstream clan and its subclans. However, to distinguish one subclan from the other, the more important subclan is called Bakoro Echerae from the alternative name for Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The less important subclan, formerly called O-Boro Echerae, keeps the more generalized name Badajebage Chobugiwuge. The name Bakoro Echerae may also be used to designate the clan. The downstream clan and its subclans maintain the names they had in Set B.

Set D

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
	O-Boro Echerae	
		Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Akaruyo Bokodori →	Bakoro Echerae	
Hamuyawuge Echeba →	Enogujeba Echerae	
	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
		Badajebage Chebegiwuge
	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	

It should be noted that the Bororo limit the usage of set D to a special occasion, perhaps to avoid any possibility of confusion between the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and that subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan which is also [796] called here Badajebage Chobugiwuge. On the evening before a ceremony the chief formally invites all the clans to participate in the following order:

Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Kiye Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge

Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae[1]

Enogujeba Echerae, Bakoro Echerae, O-Boro Echerae

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[1] Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae is alternative name for the Bokodori Echerae clan.

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]
614
[196] Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge
Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge
[361] The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

613 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugi-
614 wuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Che-
571 begiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
226 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
796 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
533 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

613 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge
614 clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers
571 outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of older-younger brother relationship but give them special
183 names. It is my opinion that the function of this disagree-
571 ment is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal importance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to be of equal importance.

goatsucker), kochaga (rail), okiwareu (mouse), arigaodoge choreuge and kujaqureuge (black and red dogs), Aroya (a spirit), Jakomea (a spirit), butore (a rattle made with peccary hooves), tugo (arrow), Kuyade Tugojiriye (a spirit), maridoqwarege (a bird), korao (parrot), kuje (curassow), piodudu (hummingbird), ivagudu (blue crow), and perhaps bokwaru (fog) and pobo (water). Certain lineages of the ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items:

"People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of kitariga and konorigi" (Boe egore: Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariga otoji, konorigi otoji). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from kitariga (a variety of grasshopper) and konorigi (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

"People say that:

Aroya Kurireu	originated	from	itubore mogodoge[1]
Tadugo	"	"	maridoqwarege (a bird)
Araru Kurireu	"	"	beto kigadu maerewu (sprout of buriti palm)
Jakomea Kuwada	"	"	koweqije (an insect that lives on the water)
Koge Ebowu	"	"	bapore (a bird)
Jakomea Attugo	"	"	ruye (frog)."

[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of itubore mogodoge; he thought that maybe they meant marido (buriti palm) in poetic language.

613 827 The Bororo are very reluctant to talk about the ancestors of certain lineages because they are not proud to be the descendants of those ancestors. They are mentioned only in 121 quarrels as an insult. I was able to collect some of these 613 examples only by provoking one of my informants. He was from 827 the Kurugugwa lineage of the Apiborege clan, and I told him that there was a rumor that the true Kurugugwa had died long ago and the present members of the Kurugugwa lineage were just impostors. Furthermore, I said, the Bororo were saying that the Apiborege could not take care of one of their younger brothers, so the Ivagududoge (in which clan I was named) had had mercy upon him and accepted him as one of their own. My informant gave me his theory about what had really happened in this case and then went on to say that my own clan had a lot of things to hide. An example:

613 827 "Meri defecated on some stones. His feces changed into a goatsucker (mokureabo), nay, a true Ivagududoge. Therefore their (Ivagududoge's) mouths are big, and their heads are big. And the people say that their village lies on the rocks."

As we see from this example, alleged characteristics of people in the different clans are explained by relating them to traits of their animal ancestors. Another example:

[825] "People say that the Kiye originated from the monkeys; therefore their arms and legs are skinny; therefore their skin is black; their

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1 "Awu meri pegodure pariri keje. Ure nowu pore mokureabodo pudumi. Boe kimorema iya Ivagududoge rabode. Duwugere eya kurichigore, etaya boa kurichigore. Duwugere boe egore 'ewororo paduye pariri keje'."

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faces are black."[2]

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At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is described: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena pijiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

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Most names of the clans are also derived from some of the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

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"Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.

"When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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1 "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

2 "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyado Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

796 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are
● 613 exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Jakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

[561]
[562]

The ornaments on top of the big wheel are black (kuje bo—curassow feathers), the ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (kiogwagiri-bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play ika above the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above marido imedu, Akaruyo Bokodori above marido aredu. The spirits who carry the big wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally, Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East) of the men's house.

Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way. We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal names of subclans. Choreu (black), kaworu (blue or green), kurireu (big), and are (owner) are added to the names of members of Black subclans; kujagureu (red), ekureu (yellow), kugurireu (small), and oro (young) are added to the names of members of Red subclans. Meri (the sun) and Ari (the moon) are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories about the creation of the rivers according to which the waters created by the Tugarege have died, while those created by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

Ika is also the name for two other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray), which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunting, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the representative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and hanging over his chest.

Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

The relationships between father and son, husband and wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

571 593 613 616 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance). They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, ornaments, useful objects, food, initiators, woman, and representatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

571 613 539 773 616 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also bakugumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumae, a kind of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo iwararege eimejera (the chief of the iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."[1]

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1 "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

773 Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or
616 Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)
571 Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badaje-
776 bage Chebegiwuge).

776 Birimodo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

776 Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

614 The Araroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 As a second example I list the lineages with which the
616 clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships
614 (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in
613 each instance my notes give at least one item which was ex-

571 changed:
616
614
613

Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Hamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echerae Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echerae

Small Kiye.

571 616 613 We see that there is a tendency for the most important lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororo at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lineages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

[582] [881]

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quarrel with them."[1]

Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between members of the same moiety; one of these was between members of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house, where she would be sexually available to all of them. Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an offense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual relations with each other. The only comment I could get from the villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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1 "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, poburеu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
[775] previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most impor-
[237] tant material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
[301] ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.

773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called Chibae e yari "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
[614] who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the vil-
614 lages of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
[613] clans, subclans and lineages, and established yorubodare relationships among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed aroe echeba (the harpy eagle), kurugugwa (a kind of hawk), buyogoe (piranhas),

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.
[362] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names
[36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-
613

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be main-
178 tained; b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lin-
eage names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lin-
178 eages that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims be-
cause their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lin-
eages; and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the village of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e.,

613 626 178 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (♀) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was [529] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorarj. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 614 Another possibility open to a man without descendants (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

/152 cont./ They say that this metal
301
[135]
[306]
was gold, news not very hard to accept because the Bororo occupied regions in which gold appears frequently even today. Nowadays, the earrings reproduced here in natural size are made of the metal from cartridges. They are called meriri-kiga-réu and are made firm by means of an annular brass wire in the

• [613]

FIG. 1

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

/152 cont./

301 hole pierced in both ear lobes, so that the individual wears a pair of these earrings. The one represented in
301 613 Figure 1, which has a tooth above and one below, is peculiar to the clan of the Aroia; it was worn by Mario Bokodori Kudde, pictured in Plate 21, even though this man does not belong to said clan. /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ But he had killed an ounce and had given the cadaver to the Aroia, delivering with this, a recently deceased member of that clan from being [431] incarnated in this beast. He then received, as it is the custom in such a case, gifts of honor from the Aroia, especially the bow splendidly decorated with plumes, and permission to make and to wear "without fear and shame" all the ornaments with which their clan distinguishes itself from the others. One can obtain this permission from any clan as soon as a dead ounce is handed over to it, delivering in this way one of their dead from incarnation in this feline. I still wish to observe that the wife of Mario Bokodori Kudde (Plates 19 and 20) was an Aroia and, therefore, owned earrings like those which the [178] husband wore. The same man told me that in the past these earrings were worn the opposite way, that is with the points turned upward.

/154 cont./

301 562 for only the men to adorn themselves." -- I saw this decoration on the woman and children as well as on the men.

/155/ Also, neither among the Bororo nor among other Indian tribes, is it "common" that only the men adorn themselves. Precisely Karl von den Steinen relates (o.c., pp. 476 and 502) that the young girls in the men's house are painted and decorated with the greatest care. [237] And Colbacchini (o.c., p. 15) says: "Men and women decorate the head with plumes and feathers." -- It is true that these cases are examples of "individual adornment" [834 593] and not of "social adornment." Among the majority of the Indian tribes we found one pair of lovers who reciprocally adorned each other, especially by means of painting; one also notices that the parents adorn the children of both [171] sexes. Among the Tapirapé, the equality in the "individual adornment" goes to the point that man and woman, for many couples, alternately wear the same bead necklaces on the neck.

But the adorning of the Indian woman is not, always and everywhere, limited to "individual adornment." In many tribes, the young girl, at the end of the first [171] menstruation, is solemnly adorned. Among the Tapirapé, after menstruation the women renew the body painting [613] typical of the female sex. Among the Bororo, the woman wear earrings which have value as clan badges. All this is "social adornment."

Considering the adornment of the Bororo as a unit, we confirm that the major part of the "social adornment" falls to the man, while both sexes dedicate themselves in equal proportions to "individual adornment." It seems, however, that the question as to when the /156/ adornment of those Indians serves to proclaim the adorned individual to the